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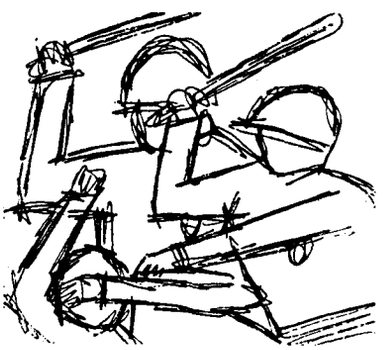

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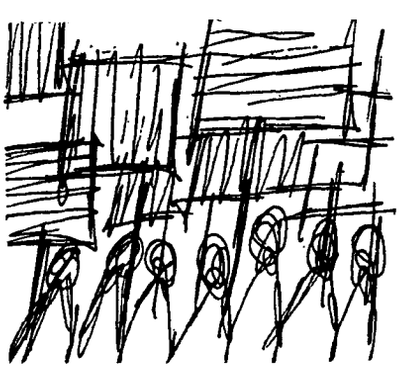

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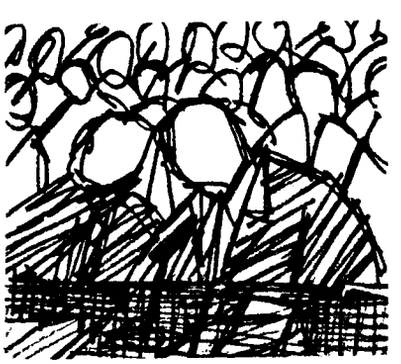

Keith Ovenden on England; Richard Fox on China

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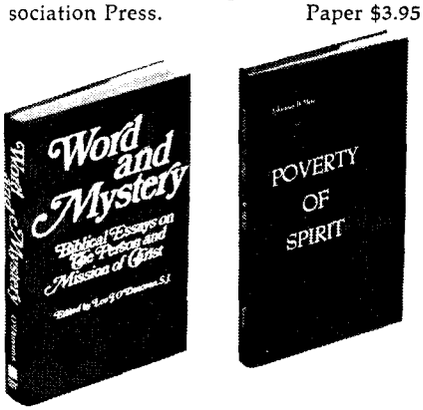

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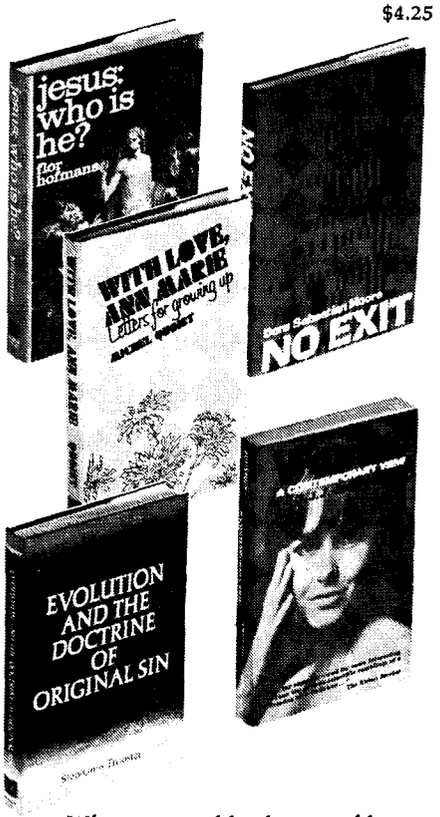

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NEWS AND VIEWS

So now Loew's Theatres, Inc., moves to acquire the Lorillard Corp., cigarette makers, and the amalgamation of businesses with no product or service relationship into corporate conglomerates continues. Broadcasting systems buy baseball teams and publishing houses; aviation companies merge with tool and textile manufacturers; theater chains take over hotels as well as tobacco companies.

Business mergers are nothing new to America, though traditionally they have been between related industries. Since the latter part of the nineteenth century the government has kept an eye on these mergers, lest they lead to monopolies and the monopolies throw the nation's economic system out of whack. The means: anti-trust laws.

Anti-trust legislation is periodically revised, but most of it dates from 1890 and that simpler economic age when worries were relatively one-dimensional. Block the monopoly and the free enterprise system was ensured.

Well, the monopoly was protected against. But under the mellifluous heading "diversification of assets" conglomerates have been put together with powers to restrain and control trade as real as any monopoly's.

What's more, these conglomerates are able to operate not only beyond, but, thanks to the Clayton Act of 1914 allowing "acquisition of assets," with the blessing of anti-trust laws. Which is fine for the companies and the stockholders, but it is questionable how good it is for the public welfare.

We are assured that the centralization of business in the hands of elite corporations means greater efficiency, broader service, fairer prices. We wish we could believe it. The conglomerate seems nothing more than the twentieth-century counterpart to the nineteenth-century monopoly.

Economists estimate that by 1975, some 200 corporations will hold 75 percent of all manufacturing assets in the U.S. Given the speed with which outfits like Litton Industries, Gulf and Western, and Ling-Temco-Vought are piecing together empires, the number 200 may actually be high.

Whatever, the prospects are not pretty. If legislation specifically applying to the conglomerate is not written, the nation is one day going to find itself back in an 1880 situation, with a handful of corporations in a strangle-hold position over the country.

•

Things really haven't changed much in Chicago. When the Chicago police were bashing heads during the Democratic National Convention, they were acting in a tradition which was theirs way back when Finley Peter Dunne was regaling readers of the 1890's with Mr. Dooley stories.

Then, if you were a "naygur" in Chicago, "police protection" was a "polite name f'r fracture iv th' skull." And when the Chicago police set out on a crusade of law and order, watch out: " 'Tis a good time f'r dacint men to wear marredge certy-ficates outside iv their coats." Much less fear when the Chicago police were ferreting out vice: "A polisman goes after vice as an officer iv th' law an' comes away as a philosopher."

As for those "Daley for President" signs that we saw on television, well we should have known from barkeep Dooley how silly they were: "What wud a man that's been mayor iv Chicago want with an infeeryor job like th' prisidincy?"

•

While humanitarian pleas continue to fall on deaf ears, some opponents of the war in Vietnam turn to cost accounts in hopes that selfish financial considerations will prompt restraints which mercy and justice obviously will not inspire.

Not surprisingly, much of this initiative comes from Republicans, the strongest recent pitch being made at platform committee hearings of the Republican National Convention. Arguing "the economic reasons why peace is needed," a group known as Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace pointed out:

"In the last four years, the U.S. will have squandered on the Vietnam War at least $80 billion dollars—perhaps this will rise to $100 billion by the end of fiscal 1969. This is more by many billions than the $72 billion cumulative deficit since President Kennedy's first fiscal year.

"In other words, the administrative budget of the eight years of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson could have been in surplus—not in deficit—if the folly of the Vietnam war had been avoided."

The pitch before the Republicans got nowhere, of course—not so much, we suspect, because the Republican Platform Committee found arguments from finances against the war somewhat less than humanitarian (they're repelling), but because there is a limited validity for them. Economists by the score can make persuasive cases for the fact that Vietnam is actually a boon to the economy; they are difficult to refute.

Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, a Manhattan Project scientist who is now a consulting physicist specializing in defense projects, put his finger on the pulse when he suggested recently that the U.S. has moved into "a kind of defense socialism, a system in which the welfare of the country is permanently tied to the continued growth of military technology and the continued stockpiling [and use] of military hardware."

In translation, this means that we need our little Vietnams. They cost money, to be sure. But, oh, the stimulus they are to the economy—until the day the balloon bursts.

•

Msgr. Bernard J. McLaughlin, chancellor of the Buffalo diocese, in repudiating laymen and priests who sought unsuccessfully to meet with Bishop James A. McNulty to discuss his canning of seven priest-dissenters from *Humanae Vitae:*

"The image of Bishop McNulty portrayed as unapproachab'e is completely false . . . He is always available for consultation with the priests in charge of the various diocesan departments."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

'Humanae Vitae'

Cottonwood, Idaho

To the Editors: . . . There is certainly a striking parallel between the present opponents of the Holy Father's teaching, and the opponents of our Lord. How ridiculous it is to title the Holy Father the Vicar of Christ, and then oppose his teaching. It indicates only one thing, a lack of faith. The Bishops, the majority of priests and laity, accept the teaching of the Holy Father because they believe that Christ and the Holy Spirit are with him and speak through him.

The arguments expressed against the Pope's encyclical [Aug. 23] show a partial view of the subject, with the neglect or denial of the remaining views. The human exigencies involved receive more attention than God's Will in the matter. The central issue, God's purpose for sex, is not mentioned in its true light by the opponents of the encyclical. Particularly, they fail to mention the end of human life, to partake of the divine nature and happiness for all eternity. Man's temporal lot here on earth is the only point considered. . . .

CLEMENT FRANK, O.S.B.

Roseville, Calif.

To the Editors: I am afraid that Pope Paul's attitude on human life as expressed in his encyclical must be considered disturbingly regressive . . .

It is extremely important to remember that the Church upholds the ideals of free will and individual conscience. These spiritual qualities, according to the Church, give man his human qualities and, rightly used, assure his dignity. Does a doctrinaire teaching such as has been promulgated by the Pope concede these qualities? . . .

It seems that the principle, as I understand it, of birth control's being a frustration of an act of nature is totally absurd. Not much that is done in modern society fails to frustrate nature. More important, however, is the Pope's

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THE BOMBING HALT

President Johnson has come to like the quasi-military atmosphere of the veterans' convention for his Vietnam pronouncements. Small wonder, too—with Gallup disclosing an even larger majority of the country now opposed to his conduct of the war, Mr. Johnson naturally prefers a setting where no peacenik is likely to raise his bloody head and where even an innocent beard or untrimmed head of hair is regarded with suspicion. Thus last month LBJ used the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention to remind Hubert Humphrey and the world that he would be President until January of 1969 and to rule out any change in his policy on the war before that time. This month he chose the American Legion convention to deliver a similarly hard-line message, insisting that U.S. bombing in the North would not cease unless Hanoi provided what the Administration likes to call reciprocal military restraint.

The paradox is that if Mr. Johnson's conduct of the war is unpopular, his position on a bombing halt is politically popular. A recent Harris poll indicated that 61 percent of the American people opposed a cessation of the bombing, and with Eugene McCarthy out of the Presidential race and Senator Kennedy dead, there is no national political figure willing to risk making the other side of the argument. Yet there is much to be said on the other side—so much, indeed, that we and countless other observers find the case for stopping the bombing completely persuasive.

Like it or not, the North Vietnamese have always regarded the bombing of their country as pure provocation. From the beginning they supported the war in the South materially and politically, but they had few of their own troops there until we began to bomb, and their troop escalation in the South has kept pace with our bombing in the North ever since. As a consequence, the

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North Vietnamese have always insisted that a halt to the bombing was a necessary prerequisite for peace talks, and their presence in Paris now in response to only a partial halt represents a significant concession on their part. Furthermore, there is much evidence, from Khesanh onward, that the North Vietnamese did actually reduce their level of military activity in response to our partial pause. At the same time, most Americans do not seem to realize that although our bombing has been concentrated in a smaller area, it has in fact been increasing in intensity. In May, for example, there were more than three times as many U.S. sorties against the North as there were in the months before the initiation of the Paris peace talks. Since the Paris negotiations began, the United States has continued to send additional troops and supplies to South Vietnam; to expect North Vietnam not to do likewise as a price for a bombing halt is to ask the impossible.

The reason most Americans support Mr. Johnson in opposing a bombing halt in Vietnam is obvious: they fear that a halt to the bombing would risk heavy American casualties. It is a real fear, and it is this fear that makes politicians nervous in discussing the issue, so nervous that few can resist simply pulling out all the patriotic stops whenever the subject arises. Yet as this impasse continues American and Vietnamese casualties are mounting, and lives are being tossed away every day that the bombing

From the Catonsville Nine: Greetings

Friends: A month or so ago, I asked Sister Corita to design an invitation to the trial of the Catonsville Nine. Corita, who consents to almost anything, agreed to this one too. Then we had second thoughts. It occurred to us how expensive it would be to send, absolutely first class, our invitation to all those hundreds who have made the past months bearable, and who by their friendship would make even federal prison a form of freedom.

It is practically impossible for Corita, as everyone knows, to produce a design of less than four delectable colors. It is also beyond our financial resources to do justice to her rainbow imaginings.

Therefore (as judges love to say) we have judged it would be more in accord with (1) our poverty, and (2) the poverty of our brothers throughout the world, to send this letter instead. It is written in strict black and white, inviting all our friends to the proceedings in Baltimore on Oct. 7 and following. We would like to commence on that Monday morning with a worship service for peace in St. Ignatius Church, on 720 North Calvert Street. From there, we will march to the courtroom in time for the opening of proceedings at 10 o'clock. Those who wish to do so are invited to wear black armbands in honor of the American war dead, and white headbands in honor of the Vietnamese war dead. But whatever you wear, come in joy, as a sign of life. We will welcome you in the same spirit.

We promise all who come a good time in the company of love and courage, "legal" proceedings that will blow your mind and open your heart, free housing if you call 889-0065, 235-3530, or 243-7344 (all area code 301) within a reasonable time, a defense proceeding that defends you, a prosecution that prosecutes you. What more could one ask, after Chicago, before Nov. 5? We think you know what we mean. As the Lord once said (we paraphrase, with apologies to the sacred writers), "We go to prepare a place for you."

Finally, I dedicate a poem to all we love, who understand that a poem is always personal, always an invitation. Please be invited, personally, and read as you run, toward Baltimore.

Peacemaking is hard,
hard almost as war.
The difference being one
we can stake life upon
and limb and thought and love.

I stake this poem out
dead man to a dead stick
to tempt an Easter chance—
if faith may be
truth, an evil chance
penultimate at last

not last.
We are not lost.

When these lines gathered
of no resource at all
serenity and strength,
it dawned on me—

a man stood on his nails

an ash like dew, a sweat
smelling of death and life.
Our evil Friday fled,
the blind face gently turned
another way, toward life

a man walks in his shroud.

DAN BERRIGAN, S.J.
for the Catonsville Nine

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continues. It is essential, therefore, that we take the North Vietnamese at their word and totally halt the bombing of the North—bombing which is, in any case, not terribly effective. In his speech to the American Legion President Johnson said about Vietnam: "I know very well the cost of our commitment. Every day and every night, I mourn every man who has been lost or who has been wounded. But a President—a President worthy of this title—if he is true to his trust, must think not only in terms of those who have fallen. He must think in terms of the casualties that might have been, or the dead that might be." Indeed he does, and this responsibility must include those men who are dying needlessly because the United States is unwilling to take a step that almost every other nation in the world considers indispensable to peace.

WHEN RIGHTS COLLIDE

The New York City teachers' strike offers a classic example of conflicting rights in head-on collision. The dispute was precipitated by the transfer last spring, without a hearing, of ten teachers from the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration District in Brooklyn by the local governing board, which was created as an experiment in community control of the schools. Under the terms of an agreement drawn up this fall, the ten teachers were to return to the schools, but parents and community leaders blocked their entry. Then the State Education Commissioner ordered the teachers temporarily transferred and, also temporarily, suspended the members of the governing board. This satisfied neither the United Federation of Teachers nor the leaders of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville ghetto.

The crux of the issue is decentralization of the school system, the control of local schools by elected representatives of the community to protect the interests of children and parents by making teachers and other school officials accountable for the kind and quality of education being offered. Decentralization is particularly sought after in the city's slums where, it is generally acknowledged, the schools have been inferior for years and persistently ignored by the remote Board of Education.

On the other hand, the idea of local control of schools makes many teachers decidedly nervous. They resent the prospect of interference by non-professionals, are defensive about any challenge to their competence, and are anxious to protect their own hard-won rights to tenure, due process and job security secured by their city-wide bargaining power. Many teachers also contend, and with good reason, that local control can be, as it often has been in the South, a euphemism for racism. It could be used against black teachers in white neighborhood schools just as easily as against white teachers in ghetto schools.

The teachers' arguments have merit, but in the present case the UFT seems to have reacted with good old American overkill. It has blown up a dispute in one district into a city-wide strike. And, it must be said, the UFT has been unconscionably rigid in insisting upon the absolute protection of teachers' rights as the price of not blocking decentralization throughout the city. The union seems to be saying that local power is all right as long as it can never be exercised against teachers.

It is no wonder then that many ghetto leaders have become hardened in their conviction that it is impossible to get justice from the white power structure. Out of desperation, some are moving toward the idea of separatism: only black or Puerto Rican teachers, fully trained or not, will do for their schools. The people of the ghettos are probably aware that separatism and local control are a Pandora's box, but their schools are so bad now they are willing to risk opening it. They believe they know what's best for their children. At least they should be given a chance to prove it.

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Fighting the Blood Tax In Puerto Rico

Since the people of Puerto Rico cannot vote for President and are not represented in Congress, they do not pay federal taxes. However, the draft—the blood tax—is a different matter. In 1917, Congress declared all Puerto Ricans to be citizens of the United States, over the objections of the local government, and immediately began drafting them for World War I.

During the Second World War and the Korean War, a sporadic draft resistance movement emerged in Puerto Rico. Nationalist Party members refused to register with the draft board, since they did not recognize the Treaty of Paris (1899), under which Spain had ceded Puerto Rico to the United States. Many were imprisoned and three or four are still in jail.

But the war in Vietnam has spurred a more systematic protest, for it brings home the meaning of a colonial draft, as Puerto Ricans are being sent to fight in what is widely considered a colonial war. Furthermore, Puerto Ricans *officially* have no voice in the war; it is not simply a matter of the public's wishes being ignored, as on the mainland.

Between 1963 and 1964, when members of the Independence Movement (MPI) were called before the draft board, they brought with them statements declaring they would serve only under protest and against their will. They were rejected for army service and sent letters explaining that they were threats to U.S. security and permanently ineligible for the draft. Apparently fearing that this would swell the ranks of the Independence Movement, the draft board soon stopped this practice. Between 1965 and 1966, 33 more members of the MPI and two

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from the Socialist League who refused to serve were indicted. One resister, Sixto Alvelo, was hauled into court.

Members of the Independence Movement were enthusiastic about his defense, which was handled by the firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin and Standard and the MPI lawyers. Rather than face the defense, the court threw the case out on a pretext, asking the draft board to induct Alvelo again—which it never did. The cases against other MPI resisters were also dismissed.

The lawyers had argued that the Treaty of Paris was illegal since Puerto Rico was autonomous at the time; therefore any laws following from it, such as draft laws, are also illegal. Even if the Treaty of Paris is legal, they added, Spain never had the power to draft Puerto Ricans and could not cede a power she did not have. Second, they argued, the draft is illegal since Puerto Ricans have no voice in foreign policy, being unrepresented in Congress. Third, Puerto Ricans cannot be tried for draft resistance, since a representative federal grand jury for a trial that must be held in English cannot be found on a Spanish-speaking island.

The trials themselves have attracted even more publicity. In 1967, 13 more resisters were indicted; in November, 1967, the lawyers again moved to dismiss the trials, on the ground that a representative jury could not be found. Open hearings were subsequently held, and people in all walks of life were questioned, including the court clerk. According to lawyer Michael Standard, it was shown conclusively that only middle-and upper-class urban entrepreneurs knew enough English to serve on federal juries. The lawyers subsequently made a motion that the draft was illegal since Puerto Ricans were not represented in Congress.

Draft resistance is currently a cause célèbre in Puerto Rico. A committee formed to raise funds for Sixto Alvelo's defense has since found the money to defend all resisters who ask for help. Piri Fernandez, a Puerto Rican actress who heads the committee, told me that many people neutral toward the cause of independence —just plain mothers and fathers—have taken up the cause of the boys.

The U.S. government is probably not too happy about the success which the Puerto Rican resistance has so far enjoyed. This past July 10, a court official hinted to the Puerto Rican press that Judge Cancio, who is hearing the case, would release his judgment soon, and that the lawyers would "probably appeal." This means that the motions to dismiss the trial would be thrown out and the 13, possibly the entire 80 new resisters who have been indicted since November, may be convicted. Apparently the Government is willing to pay the price of a great deal of resentment on the island to keep the army filled.

Puerto Ricans have so far had their way when they confronted U.S. military regulations. Riotous demonstrations in 1960 forced the University of Rio Pidras to make ROTC voluntary. Since then, ROTC enrollment has dropped from all able-bodied males to 6.3 per cent of the male students. This past spring, the University decided that students who did not elect ROTC would not be penalized by having to make up credits. Now ROTC enrollment is bound to drop even more.

The issue of whether to resist the draft or enter the army and organize against the war from within was not relevant to the resisters I interviewed in Puerto Rico. Undermining the U.S. army from within is a matter for full-fledged U.S. citizens, they felt. Their job was to promote independence from the U.S. in any way possible. Nonetheless, the war in Vietnam has sharpened the Puerto Rican people's understanding of American imperialism in a very direct manner. RUTH SHEREFF

(Ruth Shereff is a free-lance reporter who specializes in Latin American affairs. This account is from Liberation News Service.)

Legal Aid for California's Poor

Two years ago, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity approved government funds for an unprecedented program of state-wide legal assistance for the rural poor of California. Conceived by James D. Lorenz Jr., a 27-year-old lawyer, the California Rural Legal Assistance program is acknowledged as one of the most successful "War on Poverty" projects. Similar agencies in Texas, New Mexico and Florida have been modeled after it.

In addition to operating ten legal assistance offices throughout California, CRLA has also established a Rural Development Corporation to assist farm workers in the planning, financing and management of rural low-income housing projects. This undertaking will provide new housing for approximately 3,000 people. An Indian Services Office in Santa Rosa, California, has also been established; it has helped to bring basic services, from water to schools, to Indian tribes of Northern California.

Lorenz and his 130-man staff have not only been successful in 87 percent of the more than 11,000 cases they have taken to court but they also have withstood powerful state political opposition in Congress and efforts by Gov. Ronald Reagan to drastically curtail their services. On January 9, Reagan sent a letter to Laurence P. Horan, OEO's western regional director, listing 15 major changes he wanted in the CRLA before he would approve the grant. Included among the modifications were that CRLA obtain "a resolution of authorization from the county bar association in each county in which they provide legal services" and that it "discontinue the practice of accepting only 'selective' or 'landmark' type cases . . ." Reagan also asked that CRLA not be allowed to bring suit against any "public agency or an agency totally or partially supported

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by public funds" unless at least three private attorneys and all privately-funded legal service programs turn down the suit in writing.

Maynard Toll, a prominent Southern California lawyer, took exception to the governor's objections. "As a lifelong Republican," he said, "I find it incongruous for Republicans to be attacking a concept of providing legal counsel to people in danger of having their rights engulfed by big government. I thought that was part of the Republican philosophy." Lorenz remarked: "The Reagan administration apparently looks with favor on helping poor people with legal services only if they are suing other poor people."

All 15 of the Republican governor's proposals were rejected by the OEO. Subsequently two members of the governor's staff met with OEO representatives. Reagan's aides agreed to withdraw the modifications in exchange for a letter clarifying the conditions which OEO originally had placed on the CRLA grant. On January 19 an OEO letter to Reagan listed seven steps they would take, including reexaminations of CRLA staffing and salary patterns as well as looking for "fat" in the budget. The governor's office immediately claimed that their objections to CRLA were complied with but an OEO spokesman said that no changes had been made. The terms of the grant to CRLA approved by Congress remained in force.

Two major victories in 1967 led to the clash between Regan and the CRLA. Last September CRLA challenged a U.S. Department of Labor decision to allow 8,100 Mexican workers to enter the state to work in the tomato harvest. Arguing that domestic help was available and that the growers had not met government standards to qualify for foreign labor, CRLA won a court order halting the *bracero* important. An out-of-court settlement was eventually reached which allowed only 4,000 *braceros* to enter, with assurances that growers would be required to adhere more rigidly to existing government regulations. In the second case, Gov. Reagan announced a $125 million cutback in the State's Medi-Cal program and CRLA filed a suit on behalf of a disabled welfare recipient which eventually led to a five-man majority opinion by the California Supreme Court that the cutbacks were illegal.

Other important cases the CRLA has handled include the complete overhaul of the Wasco, California municipal water system. This resulted in an 80 percent cut in rates (from $10—$40 a month to $2.50—$4), refunds for overpayment (over 3,000), purification of the water and establishment of a workable grievance procedure for any future problems; a test case which could revamp the state welfare system and bring about a form of unemployment insurance for farm workers—benefits they have been denied under federal and state laws; action on behalf of clients to enjoin, among others, the Madera County Board of Education from closing the schools so that the students could help in the fields; suits to stop salesmen who entrap unwary customers in $500 time-payment purchases of $100 cameras; countersuits against finance companies engaging in fraudulent collection procedures; and an exposé of the discriminatory hiring practices of the municipality of Delano toward Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

Through CRLA efforts, then, unjust labor practices have been corrected, low-income housing has been made available and the poor have been defended against social injustice and economic exploitation. Lorenz sums up the working philosophy of CRLA this way:

"The main problem is that there is a double standard of law. Most people are interested in the law only for the prevention of violent crime. But in the many civil matters relating to the poor, the law is quite clear and governmental officials consistently violate it. The poor became cynical about the law. You can never have effective law enforcement as long as this double standard exists, as long as the poor do not respect or trust the law. The poor don't want charity, they want justice." A. V. KREBS, JR.

(A.V. Krebs, Jr., is a free-lance writer living in San Francisco.)

Pax Romana Comes To Philadelphia

The World Plenary Assembly of Pax Romana brought 200 delegates from 44 countries to St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, to discuss the "Four Faces of Poverty," and it was another case of the rich discussing the problems of the poor. Apart from Cesar Chavez, who was present as a speaker, the poor were conspicuous by their absence. Sharp divisions showed between youth and elders, between representatives of underdeveloped and developed nations. But discussion about poverty was frustrating. The feelings of many were expressed by a Negro graduate student from New York City. He labeled the conference "intellectual masturbation."

"Revolution" was the most common word in the conversations of the large and youthful Latin American delegation. A resolution of the conference praised the recent social encyclicals, but noted clearly that "this teaching allows for the possibility of revolution when men are confronted with inhuman conditions and all other means have failed."

The encyclical *Humanae Vitae* received energetic support from Latin Americans because they saw it upholding their opposition to U.S. imperialism, which allegedly would force population control on underdeveloped nations in order to continue domination of them. A resolution was passed which condemned a central authority imposing the use of birth control, but upheld the freedom for further discussion in the private realm.

Most speakers and many resolutions called for sweeping sacrifices by affluent persons, nations and churches.

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Jan Tinbergen of Holland, president of the United Nations Development Committee, stated that all concerned will "have to make contributions more comparable to what we are able and willing to do in war-time than in so-called normal times if violence is to be avoided." Suggestions included world migration, favorable balances of trade for developing nations, an international income tax, and the establishment of an international non-governmental body to serve as a common voice of the poor.

A note of pessimism was struck by Robert Theobald, a British socio-economist, who is concerned that "those who challenged the existing conventional wisdom [are] usually excluded from the decision-making processes, even though they are often those who understand the reality of the situation most clearly and are most likely able to produce meaningful ideas." This exclusion leaves only the option of violence for expressing their views, while the cry for "law and order" becomes "a public relations euphemism for keeping people in their place, for ignoring social justice and penalizing those who protest its existence."

The Pax Romana intellectuals obviously found much to talk about concerning poverty and many areas where action may begin. But a question remained whether anyone would listen to them, or even whether they were listening to themselves. JOHN W. GROUTT

(John W. Groutt is a member of the theology faculty at Villanova.)

A Cry for Black Nun Power

To be a female member of the Roman Catholic Church is to be a second-class citizen. To be a Roman Catholic *nun* is to be a double victim of institutional paternalism. But what if you are a *black* Roman Catholic nun? That makes your minority position so infinitesimal as to cause others to marvel at your very existence. It also makes it almost mandatory that, for your psychological survival, you unite with others like you.

This is precisely what happened at Mt. Mercy College in Pittsburgh, where the First National Black Sisters Conference took place Aug. 17-24. Some 157 nuns, representing 78 religious orders, were in attendance. (No accurate figures are available, but it is estimated there are 1,000 black nuns in the U.S.) The median age of conference participants was 30; the older nuns belonged to the few exclusively American Negro religious communities.

Conference proceedings were taped, but whites and reporters were politely excluded from all sessions except one afternoon panel discussion. Dr. Nathan Wright, Urban Work director of the Newark Episcopal diocese, explained: "We are a family here . . . an all-black family." He said he feared the presence of whites would inhibit open, candid discussion by the nuns. Rev. Louis Burrell, S.V.D., endorsed the policy at the open forum: "My white brethren are feeling now what we have experienced every day. Perhaps you even feel some humiliation and degradation. All I can say is: 'Welcome to the club.' " The nuns applauded.

It seemed obvious during the open session that the nuns thought of themselves as blacks first and Roman Catholic religious second. A black Protestant minister from Pittsburgh, Rev. Frederick Gray, touched black pride when he said: "I am delighted to know that you are not only sisters in the cloth, but my soul sisters as well." He was wildly applauded.

Two themes emerged at the open session: black panelists and black nuns both rejected "the myth of integration"; they were equally insistent on Black Power, defined as black self-determination. A number of nuns said that neither open housing nor integrated schools was their goal. What they want is improved ghetto housing and better qualified teachers (blacks?), who are sensitive to the needs of black children and familiar with black culture.

The Black Power theme was underscored by a total rejection of white leadership. Father Lawrence Lucas, S.V.D., Harlem-born pastor of St. Francis de Sales parish in Indianapolis, defined the issue: "Whites no longer can be leaders, or spokesmen, or helpers of blacks. Whites must now be learners, listeners and supporters of black leadership." He added: "Blacks now say to the white community: 'Thanks to you, we have arrived. We are ready and willing to stand on our own feet. This, we assume, has been *your* goal'."

One panelist, the Rev. John Long, a white Presbyterian minister who has spent the past four years in Pittsburgh's Manchester ghetto, defended white presence in black communities but added that those whites who live among blacks must be very unusual people—"the best the Christian Church can provide."

But Long was openly discouraged about the chances of the white power structure accepting black demands for self-determination. He said he fears Nixon as President, a far swing to the right, the return of McCarthyism, and a heightened emphasis on law and order to the detriment of racial justice. He remarked: "Frankly, Sisters, I think we're in for a helluva future."

But this apocalyptic view failed to elicit any sympathy from the nuns. A black sister strode to the microphone: "You said you believe 'We're in for a helluva future.' May I remind you that we black Americans have had a helluva past." She sat down to the loudest applause of the afternoon. PAT KIELY

(Mrs. Pat Kiely is a newscaster with Station WIIC-TV in Pittsburgh.)

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LAW AND ORDER

'We are a nervous and skittish people'

THOMAS R. BROOKS

"Crime (and/or violence) in the street" and "law-and-order" are very big this year. The polls rate them as hot election issues, and so they are—profoundly disturbing either as thinly veiled racism or as reflections of a social reality.

We are a nervous and skittish people and the racist and reactionary exploit our fears. "We need tougher law enforcement," they cry, by which they mean contain the ghettos, suppress the black militants, the hippies and the yippies and anyone wearing a beard or sporting very long hair.

Yet, we cannot dismiss crime or violence or the demands for law and order as euphemistic racism. True, much of the recent annual increase in crime reflects better reporting by the police as well as more reporting of thefts by citizens seeking to recover losses by insurance claims. Some of the increase reflects the growth of the gross national product and inflation. More small things (easily stolen) now cost over $50, the arbitrary figure set by FBI statisticians many years ago for reporting larceny as a serious crime. Nonetheless, 1967's jump of 28 percent in armed robberies, which included muggings, stick-ups, bank hold-ups and thefts involving bodily harm, alarmed even non-FBI and non-police experts. Robbery is a bellwether of violence because of the willingness to use force on strangers implicit in the crime. Most robberies, unlike other major crime categories, are believed to be reported to the police. Therefore, it is a more accurate reflection than, say, the figure on larceny of $50 and over.

The fear of crime and its attendant violence is, of course, widespread. Yet the poor are crime's chief victims, not the "law-and-order" suburbanites titillated by slogans and riot scenes on television. Poor criminals steal from the poor. The hard truth is that as incomes go up, the odds in favor of becoming a victim of crime go down. In New York City, 33 percent of the crimes of violence occur in slum districts constituting 7 percent of the City's 80-odd precincts. A Los Angeles study found that the chances of being a victim of violent crime were 6 in a thousand for those living in a neighborhood where the median income is below $5,500 but less than one in a thousand in neighborhoods where the median income is over $8,000 a year. For all the complaints about police brutality, the major complaint in poor neighborhoods is inadequate police protection.

The poor, black or white, just like the rest of us, do not want to be robbed, mugged, or killed. They are apt, rather more than white liberal intellectuals, to want drug addicts jailed, or at least taken off the streets. They want pushers arrested. Yet, they may not want their favorite numbers' runner busted, nor their after-hours bar closed.

While the demand for police protection in poor neighborhoods has increased, we have no real way of knowing whether or not there has been an increase in effective policing, or peace-keeping. James Q. Wilson of Harvard believes it may well have, and there is impressionistic evidence that the poor are getting more and better police service. Not too long ago, for instance, a shoot-out or a cutting in a black ghetto would be ignored as "Nigger business," or in Little Italy, as a "Wop affair." By and large, that is no longer the case. However, the indices of police performance—arrests, tickets given out and crimes cleared off the books—by no means reflect all of the police services, nor are they any indication of how well the police perform. In Boston, it is reported, only about 17 percent of police work turns on the handling of crime. The rest consists of a variety of jobs, many of which are social services.

The poor do use the police. If you and I should beat

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our wives, our neighbors aren't likely to call the police. Neighbors, friends, possibly a priest or a minister would intervene. But family fights are high on the list of calls for the police in any big city slum. If someone in our family suddenly takes ill, or dies, family, friends and neighbors are on hand for aid and comfort. But the poor call the police, who, in turn, summon the ambulance and show up to offer whatever assistance they can. When caught in life's greatest troubles, the poor don't call on CORE, community organizers or social workers, they call the cops.

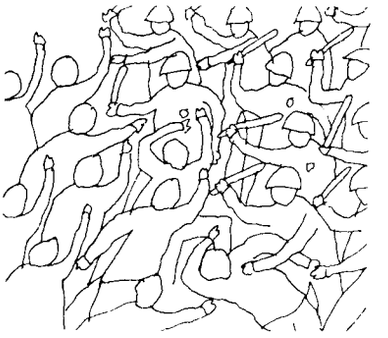
Whatever the quality of that service—and often it is cold, impersonal and cynical—there is no question but that the police have had to provide it, policing larger numbers with fewer men. Each year, five percent of all policemen leave the force. Over the next ten years, more and more will leave as the generation of men who joined the police following World War II and the Korean War come up for retirement. Some 65.5 percent of all the nation's police departments are below strength. Understaffed, they are expected to cope with crime, riots and such troubles of humanity that would try the patience of a saint. And the police are far from being saints.

For the police also contribute to crime and do so more in the slums than in fancier neighborhoods. In an 11-month study of the police and crime patterns in eight slum precincts in Washington, Boston and Chicago, Dr. Albert J. Reiss of the University of Michigan's Bureau of Social Research found that, "altogether, 27 percent of all the officers were either observed in misconduct situations or admitted to observers they engaged in misconduct." "Misconduct" is a mild word for what the report elsewhere cites as behavior "that could be classified as a felony or misdemeanor." The major classes of police misbehavior were shakedowns of traffic violators, businessmen, drunks and deviants; theft from burglarized establishments, acceptance of payoffs to return stolen property, to alter testimony at trial and to protect illegal establishments. The carrying of weapons by policemen to plant on citizens as "evidence" in case a police officer injures or kills someone, was also found to happen on occasion. Shakedowns for free meals, drinks and other small favors were so common that they were excluded from the study. All in all, Dr. Reiss concluded, the findings probably understated the amount of police "misconduct" in the slums.

Police corruption in the slums naturally exacerbates relations between the police and the poor. Many slum residents view all police as corrupt at all times, a view that overlooks the fact that the cop on the take may very well be quite good at handling husband-wife squabbles, barroom brawls and at preventing the mugging of the elderly. Perhaps more to the point is that the existence of corruption underscores the selective nature of law enforcement. All law enforcement unquestionably is selective, a fact that makes mockery of all calls for "greater," "stringent," or even "vigorous" law enforcement. When John Cassese, president of the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, announced "guidelines" for "enforcing the law 100 percent," he was talking nonsense.

What does "enforcing the law 100 percent" mean? Often it simply means police harassment. The police do not enforce the law "100 percent" against the likes of you and me, or against gamblers, prostitutes and their customers, or against slum landlords or others who conspire to cheat the poor. They are a good deal tougher on sexual deviants, muggers and others engaged in violent crimes. And, recently, they have been exceedingly vigorous in enforcing the law against hippies, black militants and peace demonstrators. The stake-out of black militants in Cleveland preceded this summer's "incident" in Hough; the harassment of Black Panthers in California was a factor in the West Coast shootings; and the "100 percent" enforcement of the law against a young man climbing a Washington Square tree after a runaway pet squirrel resulted in a cop-hippie confrontation. In short, when the cops choose to do so, they stress the law at the expense of order.

Although I do not believe that there is a conspiracy among the police to so act, I do believe that there is



more than just coincidence at work. There is, for example, a small but active Birchite faction among the police. There is a wider, much more respectable group that attacks the courts and those legislators who, in the police view, are soft on law enforcement. Obviously, disorder serves their cause well.

Finally, there is the police view of life, which rests ultimately on a belief in the validity of force. The hard hickory assures a peaceful beat. The police organization is militaristic. The policeman himself is not a permissive father. His religion, regardless of denomination, is apt to be conservative, reinforcing the authoritarianism of family and job. His class and status are too close to that of the slum resident to admit detachment. The police are up-tight and their frustrations are intense.

Nevertheless, the American police, despite the slogans of the more militant demonstrators, are neither fascists nor pigs. They will respond to orders clearly given. The responsibility for the excessive use of force, police brutality, lies with City Hall and the police commissioner. If

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plainclothesmen mix in with demonstrators, acting as agents provocateurs and not showing their badges when making arrests, as required by law, then the Mayor and/or the Police Commissioner are the responsible parties until they prove that the individual club-wielding policeman disobeyed orders, departmental regulations or the law and will be punished.

Police policy is not the private preserve of professional police officers; it is a public matter. Police behavior, ultimately, is a political question. Unfortunately, given the current mood of the electorate, those who see in force a simple resolution of complex social problems appear to have the political edge. Crime and violence in the streets (some of it brought on by the police) have created a public climate for repressive police action. There will be no end to police vigilantism until we do something about crimes, riots and violence. People want an end to such social disturbances, or at least want them reduced to manageable proportions. All of us want to feel free to walk in our neighborhoods at night, stroll in parks and enjoy entertainment centers without fear. Fortunately, some of the things we can do about the conditions that breed crime may also ameliorate those that bring on riots. Within the context of a broad assault on poverty, the breeding ground of crime and violence, the various programs for improving police-community relations ought to work. Without a serious attack on slums, however, such programs will accomplish little in the long run.

For one thing police, whose recruiting methods are archaic, ought to try to recruit more minority group members. Precinct captains possess a great deal of independent power within the police command and great care ought to be exercised in selecting men for this post. This means, in our present political climate, more black precinct captains for black neighborhoods, or at least, men with a real understanding of the local community. We need more police experiments on the order of the California department that arranged to have its men busted as bums, petty criminals, etc., in a nearby city to help them understand what it is like to be on the other side of the law. We need more community patrols for "cooling it" and keeping the peace. The police, too, ought to try a de-escalation of weapons rather than adding super guns and armored vehicles. Why shouldn't the police experiment with unarmed foot patrols, unarmed traffic policemen? In emergencies warranting force, armed men in patrol cars can be on the scene in seconds. Off-duty policemen ought not carry guns, as presently required in New York City and elsewhere.

Shooting looters is an invitation to civil war. No television set, bottle of liquor, or any other stolen merchandise is worth a man's life, even a wrongdoer's. There are times when firmness may forestall a riot just as there are times when all the police can do is try to contain potential damage. A show of force may be desirable, killing never. And, since crime and riots are social and political events, we ought not expect individuals to bear the burden of their consequences. Some sort of publicly-financed recompense seems to be in order for individual losses sustained at the hands of violent criminals or as a result of a riot.

If we wish better police, indeed a better society, we must change the character of the police job. If we expect the police to be tough on local hoods, we ought to expect them to be tough on slumlords. There ought to be greater recognition of the peace-keeping functions of police work. We've got to realize that the police cannot cure crime, though they may cope with it, and get on with the job ourselves.

The crime explosion is also a population explosion. According to FBI figures, 72 percent of those arrested fall between the ages of 13 and 29. California, for example, expects a 55 percent increase in serious crime over the next ten years while the "crime susceptible group" increases by 110 percent. Most crime is theft but we can expect that "serious" crime—robbery, burglary, auto thefts, larceny over $50, rape and murder—will continue to increase. And there may not be much that we, or the police, can do about it until the population cycle takes a downturn.

Still, I'm not sure we can afford to simply wait it out. Belton Fleisher in *The Economics of Delinquency* estimates that a $500 increase in annual income in high delinquency areas would cut juvenile arrests five per thousand. To put it another way, a ten percent rise in income would result in a twenty percent decline in delinquency. If this is so, then perhaps the best investment we could make to curb crime is not in police nightsticks but in some form of a guaranteed annual income at a civilized level.

One final observation, not so much to commend the police but as a comment on our current politics. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders issued its report last March. To date, I daresay, more of the Commission's recommendations for the police and the community have been put into effect than have its recommendations for the enrichment of cities, for jobs, education, housing and improved welfare benefits.

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JOHN FANDEL

TEAR GAS

(8/29/68)

Brouhaha, folderol, flapdoodle,
All the gas of the whole kit and caboodle
Makes no tears. The real McCoy
For that. Then the forced tears employ
The expense of tears, tearjerkers,
No idle tears, tearful workers,
Of those who do have tears, although
They were not pre-prepared to shed them so.

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STUDENTS IN ENGLAND

REVOLUTION FROM WITHIN

KEITH OVENDEN

To talk of students in revolt in England today is to touch on a burning issue. For in a country where political excitement, for the majority, is measured in economic statistics and the latest news of our non-existent but nonetheless fearless recovery from the clutches of sly international moneylenders, the antics of the disaffected student population provide much-needed copy for newspapers. They are safe subjects, too, for the politicians' sharpened tongues, and a unique opportunity for the conservatives among us to reopen the question "Education for What?"

But *why* students are in revolt is a question rarely asked, and even less frequently answered. Much of this is due, of course, to their own inarticulateness when it comes to positive proposals. When a BBC television program lined up a bevy of Europe's youngest leaders, including Krippendorf from Germany and Cohn-Bendit from France, they were so alienated that they tried to get the questioner (political commentator Robert MacKenzie) to rephrase his "bourgeois" questions, rather than to expound their own, very substantial, positions. Another reason it is not asked is that the students in question form only a tiny minority of the full student body. They aren't the elected representatives of student unions, and so can't claim to speak for general opinion. But they have, however, read their Lenin, and they know the effectiveness of small, highly-committed groups among amorphous, largely apathetic populations.

The great mistake most frequently perpetrated by the forces of law and order is to underestimate the theoretical sophistication of the "revolutionaries." A summer term revolt against Oxford's Proctors ("gentlemen" responsible for discipline among "junior members" of the university) won a handsome victory when the Proctors publicly retracted their stand on the limits to the freedom of students to participate in political action. It proceeded at every stage with careful and thorough analysis which was attended throughout by the entire membership of the self-styled "Committee of 90" that led the campaign. Even after the "victory" had been won, and the Internationale sung down Oxford's Broad Street, the participants regrouped for a post-operation think session that yielded plans and strategies for future action. The same is true of the sporadic bursts that have brought the London School of Economics to a standstill in the past year. And students from Essex University, which ground to a two-week deadlock in May, carried their insights to the *confrères* in the Odéon theater in Paris, delivering messages of solidarity and fraternity back and forth across the English Channel.

But the movement in England, apart from its style (swashbuckling and romantic), seems to share very little with its continental counterparts. In Germany, the students can make quite substantial claims to being the necessary political opposition. They see Kiesinger and Brandt creating political immobility and stalemate with their grand coalition, and view the emergence of a new right wing extremist party with horror. They have seen this script before. In France, although the struggle broadened momentarily to embrace political objectives—notably the overthrow of de Gaulle's Fifth Republic—students had long suffered under the intolerable burden of a hopelessly archaic university system. Without that there could have been no barricades, no Delacroix-style heroic posturing. Like most revolutionaries before them, the lions of Nanterre owed more to the barbarity of their masters than to the sympathy of their fellows. In England, the movement is uncomplicated by such political involvement, or by intransigent authoritarianism in the universities. Many of the latter, in fact, are very liberal institutions.

Apolitical and Deeply Religious

The activists are, in terms of the present political system, largely apolitical, rejecting political organization as a means to accomplish their ends. But they are, as Arnold Toynbee has pointed out, deeply religious. They have a messianic fervor, espouse a total confrontation with "Old Myths," claim a monopoly of visions of Reality (as opposed to the unreal world of consumption, or self-interest, or moral exactitudes), and they have canonized a variety of saints. Ho, Che, Régis and Mao are the primary prayer books, although Marx, Lenin and Freud find their places, predictably enough, on this new ecumenical shelf. But although this may be their style, it doesn't tell us a great deal about their demands, and it is their immediate demands which trouble the authorities.

And troubled they might well be, for the first and most

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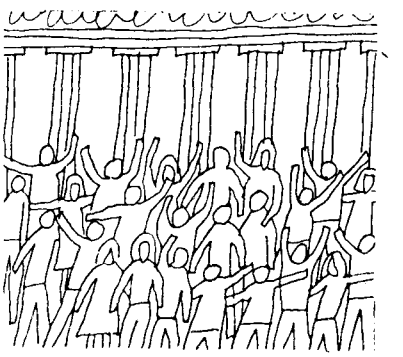
insistent demand is for the abolition of the old style of inter-group action. The students do not wish to negotiate "unrealistic" positions because they do not recognize university authority as legitimate. There is no point in using the old routes of liaison committees, negotiation and conference, because "rule" in a university is, by definition, tyrannical and therefore non-negotiable. They seek capitulation. They want the university to fall into their own hands; or rather, they want to raise the chalice of self-determination on high. Bureaucracy must atrophy; master/student relationships disappear in a wave of equality; universities accept *all* their members into the business of governing themselves; and then get on with the process of learning *together*. And if it ended there we would have nothing very different from any number of student revolt organizations in the United States. But this take-over of the universities is seen as only the first step in a process of "revolution from within" that has more general social consequences.

The militants have lost faith in the old political religion. They point to the high ideals for which, the mythology has taught them, the Second World War was fought, and fail to understand why now there should be unemployment, poverty, racial spite, cultural barbarity at home, and war, with British acquiescence, overseas. Either the parents have changed their minds since they liberated Dachau, which must mean our times are sick surely, or they never meant what they said in the first place. Could theirs be a whole generation of liars? The political system cannot even fumble a response, because it still deals in both the substance and the imagery of 25 years ago. So the youthful converts do not want to play the old politics at the same time as they want to revolutionize society: a dilemma which, classically, leads to the choice of violence.

But most of them have worked out a position that excludes violence. The 12,000-strong demonstration at the London American Embassy on March 17 was small by French, German or Italian standards, and many participants learned a harsh lesson there: that fighting English policemen is a dismal and stupid way of trying to influence policy. As one demonstrator put it afterwards: "Who on earth wants to punch our policemen? They're so harmless." Predictably enough the replica march on July 21 found only 400 eager militants in Grosvenor Square anxious for further confrontation. And the logic is undeniable: are they to set up machine-gun posts on street corners? lob Molotov cocktails under passing tanks? storm Buckingham Palace? Even the less theoretically oriented can see that the conditions are, to say the least, not ripe. The society is not armed, the army is not in revolt, the middle classes are not disaffected, and not likely to become so. And so the answer is not violence. But neither is it the hippie response of dropping out. Rather it is "to jump out": begin to live the new life—and its religion—without asking anyone's permission; without getting funded by Parliament; and without paying any attention to assailants on the outside. Both inside and outside the universities new communities are springing up that reflect the new order. They are not composed of dropouts in the accustomed sense, for many of their members pursue career objectives with great purpose. But neither are they participants, for they reject utterly the political institutions, their media of communication, and their demands. It sounds like the specter of the apathetic middle classes, but it isn't that either, for its adherents are united by their youth, their acute sense of generational conflict and their style of argument. If students take over a university, professors will adjust. If workers assume control of some factory, the management will accommodate. If a big, communal-style family moves, like a tribe, into a new block, the neighborhood will get used to it. The social system is flexible where the political system is not, so who needs a political system? After all, the questions it deals with, like those of the tyrannical hierarchy of a university, are non-issues, for they don't relate to the ordinary, every-day aspiration of a human being: to control what he is doing.

This "social syndicalism," eating away at the walls of



the fortress from the inside, is not revolutionary in any violent or cataclysmic sense, but it shares this with revolution: it is both aim and tactic at one and the same time. It is a set of proposals *and* a course of action, and it aims to subvert not simply the system (which is concrete and formal), but rather the emotions and the psychology, the civic culture and the social fabric that have given the institutions their shape, and that continue to generate the aspirations which propel those institutions after their "false gods."

In the long run it may look like a far-fetched ambition. The minority who pursue it certainly share optimism above all else. But in the short run the prospects are much brighter. The chances of an October Revolution throughout the universities of the British Isles are considered high, so much so that Vice-Chancellors met recently to review the possibilities of concerted action to meet the thrusts of the militants. And student agitators are certainly not going to avert the clash. Momentarily isolated by the vacation, they are coming together this autumn to embrace "the struggle," and it promises to be a long, hard, and not very clean, fight.

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Pope denounces birth control as millions starve

"Every marriage act must remain open to the transmission of life," said Pope Paul in his recent encyclical. He ruled out every action which proposes "to render procreation impossible."

The Pope denounced artificial contraception—the only practical means of controlling population. He held that it is not reasonable "to have recourse to artificial birth control" even though "we secure the harmony and peace of the family, and better conditions for the education of the children already born."

By his edict the Pope has struck a crushing blow against current efforts to reduce the flood of people now engulfing the earth.

In the advanced countries most couples—Catholics as well as Protestants—already practice birth control. But in the underdeveloped countries, such as in Latin America, the Pope's teaching may result in the birth of hordes of children who will not have enough to eat.

Famine already stalks the earth. Half of humanity goes to bed hungry every night. Ten thousand or more people are dying of starvation every day. This means that more than three and a half million starve to death every year. (The present tragic Biafra toll is *in addition* to these figures.)

As recently as 1953 there were 2½ billion people on earth. Today only 15 years later there are *3½ billion*. A generation from now that number will approximately double at the present rate of increase.

The Pope dismissed the population explosion with a few brief words, merely saying that it should be met by greater social and economic progress, rather than to resort to "utterly materialistic" measures to limit births.

The encyclical appears to millions of Catholics and Protestants as a rather incredible document, considering the eminence of the author and his access to the world's leading demographic, agricultural and other authorities. It is viewed by many as one of the most fateful blunders of modern times.

For there can be no doubt that unless population is brought under control at an early date the resulting human misery and social tensions will inevitably lead to chaos and strife—to revolutions and wars, the dimensions of which it would be hard to predict.

Nothing less than the survival of civilization is at stake.

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STUDENTS IN CHINA

A SPIRITUAL REVOLUTION

RICHARD W. FOX

In May, 1966, President Lu Ping and his "revisionist" Party Committee at Peking University were ousted by rebellious students with the blessing of Chairman Mao. That spark lit the prairie fire of Cultural Revolution, and the blaze spread to the factories and for a time to the fields. Thus in May, 1968, when French students—a few sporting Mao badges or posters—occupied the Sorbonne and workers occupied factories, the Maoist faction in Peking drew what to them was an obvious conclusion.

Jen-min Jih-pao (*The People's Daily*) explained that "the tremendous victory of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has inspired the vigorously developing revolutionary mass movement in Europe . . . More and more revolutionary people in the world have with insatiable thirst studied Chairman Mao's works, and thereby carried their struggles forward from victory to victory."

Clearly Peking has an uncritical sense of Mao's causal efficacy. The influence on Western radicals of Ho and Che, not to mention less well known figures like Marcuse and Franz Fanon, has been studiously ignored in China's press. So strong is the Maoist aversion to Che, incidentally—on account of his "adventurist" contempt for laborious political preparation prior to armed struggle—that news of his Bolivian exploits, death, and current elevation has not appeared in China. In any case, to the scholastic Maoist mentality there can be only one eternal sun, and like the temporal sun, naturally, it rises in the East. Chairman Mao is the efficient cause of world revolution.

But however cloudy China's ideological lenses may be, she is nonetheless right in assuming that European student radicals have something in common with her own Red Guard, and that the Westerners see Mao as an ally in their struggle.

For it is Mao himself, along with trusted lieutenants like Marshal Lin Piao and his (third) wife Chiang Ching, who fostered and fanned the Red Guard movement, hoping to purify the party, army, and business ranks by pressure from below. Along with latter-day theorists like Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Mao is sponsoring a permanent social revolution. Cohn-Bendit and Mao both scorn a stagnant, satisfied society where established power yields privilege and exploitation. They seek continuously to plow through society's bureaucracies, uprooting those ensconced officials who put power or profit ahead of the "people." Like Marx, they are groping for a spiritual revolution in which the urge to exploit will be contained and perhaps eventually overcome.

Both Mao and Cohn-Bendit believe the Communist parties in their respective countries to be on the whole an integral part of the establishment, indeed, of the military-government-industrial complex. In both China and France it is the businessmen, the generals and the functionaries who prize the stability which Mao and Cohn-Bendit consider spiritual impoverishment.

But in neither country, predictably, is the permanent revolution presently making progress. French students have seen their revolt turned into an enormous electoral victory for the conservative "wing" of the establishment —after the government, controlling the mass media, offered the public a choice between Gaullist liberty and leftist tyranny. In China, Red Guard influence has dwindled since last fall when "revolutionary committees"—"three-in-one" combinations of "rehabilitated" cadres, army officials, and a few Red Guard representatives—were commanded to take control at provincial and municipal levels. The Red Guards were quick to realize that the more moderate ruling group which emerged in mid-September was selling them out. The radicals were told to accept as authorities many of the same men they had reviled with official approval during the previous year. Moreover, conservative provincial generals, wary of future Maoist commands from Peking, gained control of many of the committees, such that some China-watchers predicted the emergence of a military dictatorship.

The Maoists all but admit that they are themselves largely responsible for failing to obtain more than the present stalemate with the conservatives. Unruly factionalism among the scores of rival Red Guard groups was apparent almost from their creation by Mao in August, 1966, making disciplined acceptance of orders from Peking impossible. The Maoist press continually attacked student "anarchism" stemming from the "petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline." But clever Red Guards published their own tabloids, which conveyed conflicting commands and advice. (Certainly Mao's contempt for unstructured spontaneity would apply to Cohn-Bendit's colleagues as well as to his own Red Guards.)

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The real obstacle to the radicals' revolution in France and China has been the visceral opposition of the workers and farmers (peasants). Though workers in both countries, especially France, have benefited materially from the student-led turmoil—in China the break-down of Party control allowed workers to engage in strikes (a novel experience), petty profiteering and theft, and enabled the peasants to get away with private sales and hoarding—most workers and farmers are unimpressed by visionary student appeals to eschew material improvement.

Spontaneity vs. Organized Schemes

Moreover, key segments of the intelligentsia in each nation have broken with the radicals over their "childish" aversion to specific proposals for social and economic change. The Chinese radicals, more than the French, have worked out some general proposals; Cohn-Bendit for example, contrary to Mao, seems to believe that revolutionary action precedes ideology and organized schemes. "The force of our movement," he said in Paris, "rests on uncontrollable spontaneity to which it gives élan without trying to utilize for its own profit the action it has unleashed." Cohn-Bendit thus rejects the idea of a mass revolution controlled by a tightly-knit minority. The Chinese, whose government has traditionally "legislated morality," and who lack almost entirely the conception of limited government dear to many anarchistic European radicals (and conservatives), tend naturally to conceive of grandiose plans for the ordering of society. But both the European and the Chinese radicals are agreed that turbulent, even tumultuous, social change is a good thing in itself, even without concrete proposals for new institutions. First old earth must be turned over; a new harvest stems only from fresh soil. Spiritual growth, individual or communal, issues from turmoil, not tranquillity.

While both Eastern and Western radicals, therefore, scorn materialistic values and deadened, privileged bureaucracies, only the Westerners eschew the "organized society." For instance the *Sheng-wu-lien* (Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionaries Great Alliance Committee), one of the most radical student groups in China, last January attacked the revolutionary committees, tossed subtle barbs at the inbred conservatism of the P.L.A., and then outlined its own awesome goal for Chinese society. Its basic suggestion was the elimination of all specialization in work. Peasants should not only produce, but also participate in local politics, work in factories, be trained to fight; workers should also farm, fight, and learn to govern their factories; soldiers should farm and work as well as fight. And of course everyone would continue to be a student of Chairman Mao's thought. Each person would thereby be formed in an "all round way." and those differences that give rise to exploitation would be eliminated. The "People's Commune of China" would emerge; government would be by democracy from below, as in the short-lived Shanghai Commune of early 1967. Precisely how China would proceed to the "People's Commune" is left unstated, but presumably the massive government machine necessary to make the all-round training universal would wither away when its job was completed.

The greatest practical success of the Chinese student revolt, as in France, has come in educational reform. At the start of the Cultural Revolution, in June, 1966, universities, colleges, middle and primary schools were closed, and at least 20 million students became Red Guards. Plans to reconvene classes in January 1967 were abandoned when students simply refused to comply—as did many teachers who obviously feared making a slip in front of their ultra-orthodox students. Only in the fall of 1967 did the university students begin to return, after it was clear that substantial changes in the system had been made. *The People's Daily* explained on November 2 that the study of politics would predominate, entrance exams

would be abolished in favor of personal interviews and evaluation of past performance, degrees would be given after three instead of four years, lectures would be replaced by free discussions, and examinations would be held only as study-aids, not as means of promotion.

But the over-all aims of the Maoists have not succeeded. They have failed thus far to revitalize the party and spiritualize the Chinese mind in the face of opposition from the military-government-industrial complex, from the materialist instincts of the peasants and workers, and because of fragmenting "anarchism" among the students. On the other hand, they take heart in their belief that they have inspired the present social turbulence in the West. With no understanding of the West's tradition of free speech and practice of repressive tolerance, they believe that the simple spreading of *The Quotations of Mao Tse-tung* is ushering in the final collapse of imperialism. "The imperialists are mortally afraid," observed the *New China News Agency*, "when they see the people of all countries holding the red books and wearing the red badges of the great leader Chairman Mao. Their efforts to hinder the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought are like ants trying to topple a giant tree."

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FROM COOPER TO CABALLÉ

RECORDS

The English writer Martin Cooper once made the perceptive observation that "if you really listen to Berlioz's music, really follow it . . . it is perfectly coherent and alive with the most astonishing vitality"; and that "for all the richness of his palette . . . Berlioz is not a sensualist" —the four brass bands and 18 kettledrums of the *"Tuba mirum"* of the *Requiem* being "used by a mind so completely in the grip of a poetic idea, so absolutely alien to all exploitation of sound for its own sake (the sensualist's music), that the listener's soul and not his nerves are affected." What he didn't add was that the extra brass and drums do not—as one is led to believe by the histories and appreciation manuals—blare and thunder uninterruptedly all through the *Requiem,* but are used in only a few passages, and in these not always with full power. That is, in the *Lacrymosa* it is after the quiet *"Pie Jesu, Domine, dona eis requiem,"* when the explosively agitated opening section returns, that Berlioz begins to use the extra brass bands: in each 9/8 bar the third group of three eighths is reinforced by a note or chord from one after another of the bands—the effect of these cries of the brass being indescribable. And as the piece proceeds the brass chords become fuller and are intensified by increasingly powerful rolls of the drums, with superb effect. The *Lacrymosa* is one of the greatest sections of the work; and another is the *Offertorium,* a wonderful example of a procedure Berlioz used repeatedly: the repetition at intervals of the chorus' unchanged plaintive little phrase in the constantly changing context of the orchestra's developing musical thought. Nor are these the only remarkable and impressive things in the work. Munch's earlier Victor performance with the Boston Symphony, a good one, has a poorer chorus than his new one with the Bavarian Radio Symphony and Chorus on Deutsche Grammophon stereo records; but Simoneau in the earlier performance sings the tenor solo in the *Sanctus* more beautifully than Schreier; and without the addition of a large amount of bass the Deutsche Grammophon stereo records don't produce the thunder of the drums or reproduce adequately the low strings and bass voices.

Two Turnabout stereo records have the music Mozart wrote specifically for Masonic occasions, most of it unfamiliar to the general musical public, and a few pieces that were adopted for those occasions, which include two that are familiar: the powerful Adagio and Fugue K.546 for strings, and the Masonic Funeral Music K.477, an impressive succession of musical gestures of solemnity, grief and resignation, with occasional dramatic events provided by startling modulations. (Both of these pieces are performed well by Fricsay with the Berlin Radio Symphony on a Deutsche Grammophon record—the Adagio and Fugue more effectively by the large group of strings than by the string quartet on the Turnabout record.) As for the other works, the cantata *Laut verkunde unsre Freude* K.623 was completed only three weeks before Mozart's death; and his devoting to it some of the time and failing strength that were insufficient for the completion of his *Requiem* is an indication of his strong commitment to Free Masonry. He had just completed *The Magic Flute*; and the solemnity and elevation of the music of the scenes in Sarastro's temple are heard also in the cantata I just mentioned, in the earlier cantata *Dir, Seele des Weltalls* K.429, and in the other vocal pieces. Peter Maag conducts good performances with the orchestra and chorus of the Vienna Volksoper, Kurt Equiluz and Rudolf Resch, tenors, and Leo Heppe, baritone.

To her earlier RCA Victor record with arias from unfamiliar early Verdi operas, the soprano Montserrat Caballé adds one with arias from unfamiliar works of Rossini, which exhibit his early conventional writing in *Tancredi* (1812) and *Armida* (1817), the charming Willow Song from *Otello* (1816), the more distinguished melodic writing in *La Donna di Lago* (1819), the superb writing in *L'Assiedo di Corinto* (1826) and the *Stabat Mater* (1831-41). Caballé introduces florid variants in repetitions—which Rossini may have had to accept from the singers who tyrannized over composers in his day, but we can do without, and shouldn't have to accept, from singers today. I should mention that Harold Schonberg of the *Times,* after a performance of *La Traviata,* pronounced Caballé not a real coloratura soprano but only "a manufactured one, a coloratura *faute de mieux.*" This should have settled the matter; but Caballé has the insolence not only—in the face of Schonberg's pronouncement—to attempt the florid variants and things like the long florid cabaletta in *La Donna di Lago,* but to sing them perfectly—this in addition to her beautifully shaped phrases of sustained melody.

The Canzoni of Giovanni Gabrieli for brass, winds, strings and organ on a Columbia stereo record include engaging brilliant pieces and a few impressive quiet ones —in particular a fine Ricercare for organ alone. This is played well by E. Power Biggs, who participates in the other effective performances by the Edward Tarr Brass Ensemble and Gabrielie Consort la Fenice conducted by Vittorio Negri.

Bach's chorale-preludes, his meditations on the texts and melodies of the Lutheran chorales, include great utterances like *Nun komm', der Heiden Heiland* (BWV 659) and *Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele* (654) of the *Eighteen Chorale-Preludes,* and *O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross* (622) and *Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (639) of the *Orgelbüchlein*; and there are other good pieces in these two collections on Vanguard Cardinal stereo records, but also numerous uninteresting ones.

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Anton Heiller's performances are excellent.

Because of what is being written about Daniel Barenboim in the press I take space to say that his performances of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.453 and Symphony K.504 (*Prague*) with the English Chamber Orchestra on Angel stereo records show him to be a crudely undisciplined musician who plays the piano badly and cannot achieve something as elementary as the balance of strings, woodwinds and brass necessary for clarity of texture in the playing of an orchestra: right at the start of K.453 the woodwind flutters that conclude the opening statement are made inaudible by the bassoons.

You won't read it in the press; but Anton Kuarti can do what Barenboim cannot: play the piano well and produce coherently shaped performances of music. A Monitor record has his excellent performances not only of the familiar Beethoven Sonatas Op. 81a (*Les Adieux*) and Op. 10 No. 2, but of the rarely played Opp. 78 and 79, which are very fine smaller-scale works. B. H. HAGGIN

SING A SONG OF SPINSTERS

THE SCREEN

It comes as no surprise that Joanne Woodward gives a first-rate performance in "Rachel, Rachel." She has done that before. But this good film's big surprise is that it is the first effort by producer-director Paul Newman on the other side of the camera. As an actor, Newman has always struck me as a brash, willful young man who could turn in a very good performance when his heart was in his work ("Hud," "Cool Hand Luke") but was no better than any mediocre Hollywood star when he didn't give a damn about the role he was playing. He does not appear in "Rachel, Rachel," but as its director, his heart is in his work; and the result is a thoughtful, honest and sensitive picture about a spinster in a small town that should touch the hearts not only of thoughtful, sensitive people but also of tougher audiences and even just movie-crazy fans.

Rachel, a grade school teacher in Manawaka, realizes she is 35 and half through her life and not very happy about it. Her dreams and desires, not particularly startling, are shown in effective flashbacks and flashforwards. Perhaps the one love of her life was her father, an undertaker now dead these 14 years; and she's stuck with a bossy, cranky mother whose demands for attention are ridiculous; her friends and acquaintances are few: her mother's bridge companions, the other teachers, particularly her chief pal, Calla, who insists one night that Rachel accompany her to a religious revival meeting where the leader (Geraldine Fitzgerald) always gives Calla a big emotional lift. Rachel gets a half-hysterical lift from all the shouting and singing too, but when Calla makes a strongly emotional pass at her after the meeting, Rachel rejects the whole business—as well as her friend.

So Rachel, restless, frustrated, and so fond of other people's kids, is ripe for the first man to come along and show an interest in her. The man, a healthy farmer and former childhood friend who now teaches in a city high school, is a bright, handsome fellow. Rachel accepts his invitation for a date and the walk in the woods. She even naïvely explains, "This is the first time." But not until after a weekend with Nick, during which he shows her a picture of a little boy when she hints marriage, does Rachel realize she has been had. Later when she thinks she's pregnant, she's somewhat panicky—actually glad. And then sad when her swelling turns out to be a minor tumor.

While this bare outline sounds drab, "Rachel, Rachel," itself, is not. Newman has directed with restraint and with a warming sense of humor. And Stewart Stern's script (based on Margaret Laurence's *A Jest of God*) is excellent, with believable dialogue and scene after scene of great interest. Newman has succeeded in getting an outstanding portrayal out of his wife Joanne plus a series of minor portraits all down the line which capture small-town life. Estelle Parsons is fine as Calla; and so are James Olson as the man in Rachel's life, Kate Harrington as Rachel's difficult mother, Bernard Barrow as the unpleasant school principal, and several others. Surprisingly enough "Rachel, Rachel" ends on an upbeat note—with Rachel moving to Oregon, still stuck with her mother, but at least a sort of half-master of her fate. "What will happen? What will happen?" she asks, very much like a younger girl starting out on an adventure which is bound to work out well, even if it doesn't come up to all the expectations of the glowing travel posters. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

HAROLD ENRICO

SEPTEMBER LEAVES

Though the light of September shall discover
The golden leaf on the bough,
The bitter fruit and the mellow,
The yellow pear and the medlar;

Though silver above the shadow,
The wood-owl's feather shall hover
And fall in the dust that covers
The thimble skull of the sparrow,

Deep, deep in the ground, low, low
The root still clutches and labors,
Down through loam, umber and shallow:
And though these loveless lovers

Lie in the shade of leaves grown yellow
In a wood where the echoes quaver,
The hound shall bay all day in the hollow
The vixen fall, and the dark roots have her.

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BOOKS

Notable disturbances and friends from the provinces

I Am Mary Dunne

BRIAN MOORE

Viking, $4.95

NORA L. MAGID

"When people say they remember everything that happened in their lives, they're deceiving themselves. I mean if I were to try to tell anyone the story of my life so far, wouldn't it come out as fragmentary and faded as those old snapshot albums, scrapbooks, and bundles of letters everyone keeps in some bottom drawer or other? What would I remember about my life, wouldn't it just be some false, edited little movie, my version of what my parents were like, the places I lived in, the names of some of the people I've known, and would any of it give you any idea of what I feel. . . ?"

The question is familiar. A human being is more than the sum of his remembered parts, and in a century where no one stays home, where is home? How does one define the boundaries of reality as one seems to know it? Or diagram who has used whom and why. After the mapping, the mystery remains.

Mary Dunne, aged thirty-two, married three times, in the course of this newest Brian Moore novel experiences a day in which there are notable disturbances: already physically tense, she forgets and she remembers—among other things—her own name. She is obscenely solicited by a stranger in a crowd. She has bad news from home. An elderly man who inspects the apartment she wants to sublet causes her further disquiet when she dislodges his public mask and faces him with his own identity (as she sees it) and pathetic purpose.

One Canadian friend—Mary Dunne now lives in New York—meets her for lunch, another comes to dinner. Each has versions of the shared past that differ from hers. One by one, the incidents touch off responses that spin off from the actual encounter; past and present collide in a show of fluid technique that is as disciplined as it is made to appear artless. No seams show. Once, as a schoolgirl, Mary Dunne asked a nun if Descartes had not really meant *Memento ergo sum*. When conscious recollection falters, she wonders if she is beginning to die because some future self cannot keep her in mind. From inside herself she skims off fleeting fragments of what she has been. In a small boy she senses a changeling, as if already he is in slippery contact with the personality of the adult he will become.

As mindless panic (in which the mind cannot be turned off) threatens, she tells herself that she is normal and fortunate, but she founders in time. When she calls home, her mother is out. She has forgotten the date: "Oh, Mama, back there in Butchersville, back where there are holy days of obligation where —rain, hail, snow, or lumps beneath the skin—you are commanded by the Church to rise, dress, back your old green Chevy onto that bleak Canadian highway, and drive eight miles to Immaculate Conception Church."

The pity, terror, and small dignities that grace Mr. Moore's first two books in particular—touches remain still—shade off into a more recent mistrust. The earlier Irish novels reflect tight, somewhat mean little worlds, in which expectation and gain are both minimal. Judith Hearne, in the flawless novel of that name, goes from lodging to lodging, and when after all her sad dreams and fears and losses she is institutionalized, she is at home in her hospital room, because the photograph of her dead aunt and the Sacred Heart watch over her still. Diarmuid Devine, B.A., the old-maid schoolmaster in *The Feast of Lupercal* has one abortive involvement with a young woman and is surprised by grief and truth: "She was right, he couldn't change. For the rest of his life, he'd go on telling people what they wanted to hear."

In *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, the first book set in the new world, the promise is greater, but now, to the possibility of one's own failure, dislocation is added. Here, as in *Mary Dunne*, a man ponders "the misleading facts of a life," when he fills in an Unemployment Commission form. Here for the first time is Moore's bitterness with implacable North American attitudes. Ginger's friend says, " 'Now, in Canada, we don't go in for the hard sell. On the contrary'—and his face loosened in that self-satisfied smile peculiar to him when discussing his country—'I like to think that Canadians combine the best facets of British reticence with a touch of old American down-to-earthness.' " "Money is the Canadian way to immortality," and Ginger is too old to achieve it. A few mystical moments of joy spaced over a lifetime may be all he may manage.

In *An Answer from Limbo*, his fourth book, Moore's central character is impatient with America, where success seems as unattractive as failure. "The literary life in New York was a vast charade in which people pretended to be other than they were." Yet ironically, Brendan Tierney turns out to be Huxley's congenital novelist—a watcher. At his mother's funeral, he thinks, "Remember, man, that thou art dust. And remember this. Someday you will write about it."

Mary Dunne's story is set in the context of the crudities of both countries. The friends from the provinces come to New York like kids to a party; at the same time, their attitudes indicate that they are slumming. They patronize Mary for living in New York. She wouldn't recognize Montreal if she saw it now. Things are happening there. Yet they try to ingratiate themselves with rude cabbies and waiters. The friend

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with whom Mary has lunch parades her French for the benefit of the *maître d'* who stares at her "as though she were a remarkable talking myna bird," and who gives her the worst table in the place. She chatters about her analysis. She cannot leave Montreal which is her real love, but her doctor has discovered that what she wants basically is beautiful hardwood floors.

Mary in her own disconnection is caught between a kind of mechanical nostalgia—the pull of the past—and revulsion. What she has outgrown seems smug and small. "When one rejects a city, one seems by implication to reject the friends who have remained in that city." This is followed by a hideous scene—Moore knows that life is as grotesquely funny as it can be terrible —when the two women, having quarreled, go for a walk in the Ramble. Mary's mind is still scuttling along its multiple tracks when she sights a couple who resemble Sigmund and Mrs. Freud. They sense the near hysteria between the two women, and Mary sees Freud glance significantly at his wife, as if to say, "Paranoia, liebchen, ja, ja."

In this infinitely complex book, in which a great many basic perceptions are explored, there are two more acts. A disturbed afternoon is followed by a dreadful evening, in which another figure from out of the past—"a large lumpish man, very Canadian square, in his navy blazer, white shirt, maroon tie, flannels, and sensible black brogues"—materializes and plays the professional hick until his own unresolved angers propel him into a more violent role. Eventually, Mary reaches her mother, long distance, who says calmly that Mary sounds down in the dumps. She answers that she is, but that she hopes it will pass. For the moment, she knows who she is: Mary Dunne, daughter of her parents, unchanged.

And that of course is too simple. The novel is written in the first person, and most of it is out of Mary Dunne's mind. Time present and time past flow together and separate, and the levels at each moment are many and complicated. Mary Dunne participates in an event, reacts to it, rebukes herself perhaps for this reaction, has relevant past associations, and recognizes what she will convert to future anecdote, all pretty much at the same time. This marks Brian Moore's first attempt at a sophisticated setting. New York's shallowness, nervous jokes, false bonhomie, automatic

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REVIEWERS

NORA MAGID was formerly Literary Editor of *The Reporter*.

ARNOLD BEICHMAN, a veteran journalist and foreign correspondent, is the author of the newly-published *The "Other" State Department* (Basic Books).

DORIS GRUMBACH is the author of *The Company She Kept* (Coward-McCann), a study of Mary McCarthy.

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suspicions and dangers are here, along with a certain queer distance. Mary Dunne's current and only satisfactory husband is faceless and somewhat lifeless. He speaks, he acts, but only in response to others. He is an extension of his wife, existing only in terms of her needs. Which may be the point.

Sex: Female
Religion: Catholic

SALLY CUNNEEN

Holt, Rinehart, Winston, $4.95

Woman in Modern Life

EDIT. BY WILLIAM C. BIER, S.J.

Fordham, $6.50

DORIS GRUMBACH

The concern for what used to be called "the problem of women" is greater now than ever. Bibliography supplied by these two new books shows that sixty or seventy writers, sociologists, psychologists and theologians are now busily at work on "the problem," with its new wrinkle, the problem of women in the Church.

Sally Cunneen sent out a questionnaire to the more than 4,000 readers of *Cross Currents* (of which she is a founder and associate editor), admittedly a "convenience" sample. Her book is a well-written and thoughtful use of the answers she received, in addition to other replies to personal queries of parish groups and employees of official Catholic organizations who "might be suspicious of Catholic intellectuals." The results are not startling. Much of what is said has been said often, in print or in conversation, to anyone concerned with the Church as a social reality, but the value of her survey is nonetheless real.

It is possible to reduce "the problem," a simple reduction which applies to the whole Church now as well, to this: the survival of Christianity and the men and women who subscribe to it, depends on as simple a thing as the abandonment of stereotypes. The Established Church (in itself a solid, encrusted stereotype, in one sense) has been composed of these categorizations, has preserved itself by the evocation of them and, like melodrama, has performed its formal, elevated part, expecting all the other stereotypes within its embrace to perform theirs. The royal, masculine hierarchical stereotype with its significant robes and jewelry, thrones and titles, the sacral, masculine, priestly, cultic stereotype, the religious one, the "good" Catholic parishioner (male), and the second-sexed Catholic woman: these are all disintegrating, leaving the Church with a new "problem" for which it has no prepared theology, the problem of dealing effectively with the vast ambiguity of human persons, the multiplicity of human roles. By saying this I am perhaps saying that the long Age of Authority, of the single answer and the legalistic moral absolute, is now over at last; in all areas of thinking about human persons we must now allow for the loss of certainty and of the possibility of generalization, two main ingredients of the stereotype.

Mrs. Cunneen's data make it clear that unanimity of opinion does not now exist: "Women who are alike in age, education, ethnic background and dedication to the Church simply do not think in the same terms." Together with despair and doubt, her respondents express a literate, moving faith that there is hope for the Church if it . . . and when it. . . . Clearly women are now thinking straight and vocally on such subjects as their assigned "roles," vocations, birth-control, confession, the parish, communication (if any) between laity, clergy and hierarchy, and their historically subsidiary role in the Church. Postconciliar woman (it would seem) differs from Trentine woman in being vocal and informed, no longer easily shepherded, intimidated or quieted, no longer willing to accept the "eternal woman" concept ("the female principle is one of receiving, keeping and nourishing. Woman's *specific* creativeness, that of motherhood, is tied up with the life of nature, a non-reflective bias," said Karl Stern as late as 1965), no longer the major ingredient of "the faithful" or of "our good people."

A second book on "the problem" is the result of papers given at Fordham University's 1965 Pastoral Psychology Institute. It is not surprising therefore that many of the papers seem dated. It is equally understandable that the results of the Institute were affected to some extent by its location and its constituency: half the authors and discussants were religious and clergy; fifteen of the twenty-four are men. A great majority have either been educated at Fordham, teach there or have taught there at one time, and all, it would appear, are Catholic. In the light of these restrictions, the reader should expect that the title, *Woman in Modern Life,* means to these writers *Catholic Woman* etc.

The papers vary in their views from old-fashioned to renewed. In 1965 only a few of the writers were advanced enough to avoid the moat of "psychological differences between man and woman," descriptions which differ widely from paper to paper and are, of course, woefully lacking in objective proof. Some bring a great deal of sociological data to bear upon present truisms: that Catholic college women would not turn to a nun or to their parish priest for help in matters of love; that the Old Testament took a dim view of women; that priests in general have only a very limited understanding of women and what they have is limited to them as mothers and as "categories of service workers rather than individual persons requiring a unique personal response" (this paper by Sisters Marie Augusta Neal and Miriam St. John Clasby interested me more than any other in the book); that contemporary theology has failed women because it has failed lay persons in general (Christopher Mooney, S.J. provides a good study of the basis of this failure); that the characteristics or qualities we consider natural to women are not natural but cultural.

On the other hand a great deal of patent nonsense is promulgated in other papers under the aegis of research or experiential data. One chap contends in all seriousness that traditional theology has "contributed much to the Christian

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emancipation of women by insisting that a woman has rights which can be violated by her husband (Paul F. Palmer, S.J.). Another (Virginia Sexton) gives Robert Graves' outrageous views on "the real woman" status by claiming "at 70 (he) has surely attained the age of wisdom," and the sociologist Madeleine Engel begins her views on the widow with one of the oddest sentences in recent rhetoric: "Despite the fact that a woman generally died at an early age, she knew exactly what to expect and what would be expected of her in the event of her husband's death."

Pastoral concern for the single woman in the world was apparently strong at this Institute. It produced at least one paper of surpassing silliness or more charitably perhaps, of geriatric vitality. Joseph G. Keegan, S.J. addresses himself to "the challenge of her personal sanctification" (God help me, but I have not heard that phrase or seriously entertained that notion in ten years). His observations have an antiquarian air: ". . . there are certain emotional, psychological, and characterological qualities which seem to appear more naturally—or should I say congenially—in women than in men. She has more perception of the needs of others and usually is more readily available in helping others. . . . More patient and resigned, she is also more durable and enduring in sacrifice. She is more prone to sympathy and compassion. Finally she is more capable of sustaining a mood. . . . Therefore it is appropriate that in the Common of Virgins of the Divine Office she is declared worthy of an anointing with the oil of gladness because she has loved what is right and hated what is wrong."

I am duty-bound to mention only a few parallel foolishnesses which pass here for serious contributions to the pastoral counseling of real problems. A paper on the divorceé largely devotes itself to a description of the Stella Maris movement in which gatherings of divorced women have instituted, among other activities of consolation, a prayer program. God is asked for the grace to lead chaste lives, the *Memorare* is recited and the blessings of the spiritual director is invoked. To the celibate clergy who constitute the counselors of these divorced or single or widowed or career or childless women the pressing, real facts of the sexual and psychical existence (or the possible changes in Church law which would relieve their situation) do not seem to be (often) worth consideration, or at least nothing which, say, "the field of charitable works, the works of love, a special domain for feminine devotion" cannot easily replace.

Father Keegan tells me that I am by nature more capable than he of sustaining a mood. Are you too bored with hearing this to listen if I try feebly to insist, once again and for the millionth time, that The Problem in the Church is not women's alone but is common to all persons, that the subservient posture of women in the Church is only a milligram lower than that of the entire laity, and that the solution to it all lies in the abandonment of all sexual, clerical and hierarchical stereotypes and the elevation to a position of dignity, responsibility, yes, and even leadership of the laity. When this happens, I will gladly forego the anointing with the oil of gladness.

The Separated People

E. J. KAHN JR.

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ARNOLD BEICHMAN

What is known as the *New Yorker* style can be attractive, even subtle, because of its unforced casualness and careful understatement, its amiable detachment. In the hands of imitators, it can be monotonous and contrived. Kahn, however, is not an imitator; in fact, he is one of the originators. A perceptive reporter, a veteran of the Ross-Shawn era of the *New Yorker,* Kahn has been everywhere and written about it. This book, his thirteenth, is a *New Yorker* profile of South Africa. Two years ago, Pretoria, most reluctantly, granted Kahn a visa which enabled him to spend three months in that country. It is doubtful

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that Kahn will be allowed into South Africa again. (The *New York Times* has been refused the privilege of a resident correspondent since the expulsion of Joseph Lelyveld in 1966.)

Despite Kahn's sharp eye, his spirited reportage, his book doesn't come off because *New Yorker* style and South African reality are immiscible. Such flat, easy-going prose would be unusable to describe the ovens of Dachau, the gas-chambers of Buchenwald or Budapest in November 1956. The realities of apartheid are crushed by the mass of detail so that it becomes difficult to see the whole thing. It may work in a short reporter-at-large form, but not in a book.

Let me be clear. I am not complaining as an expert *manqué* that Kahn has failed to write *my* kind of book about South Africa or because I feel Kahn should have interspersed between paragraphs indignant lines about Prime Minister Vorster to testify to his sympathies. What fails to emerge from Kahn's book is the plain and simple horror of apartheid as lived each hour of the day by its 14 million non-whites or the torments of some members of the white minority who, try as they will, cannot transform prudentialism into an ethical doctrine.

The best part of the book comes when Kahn forgets the details he so carefully jotted down into his notebooks and talks about the peoples of Africa. He tells of a South African who had been in Little Rock for twenty minutes when a man came into a bar and announced, "They just dynamited a Goddam nigger's house." The South African was amazed that everyone was pleased. "South Africans wouldn't have reacted like that," he told Kahn, "even in the narrowest-minded portions of the Orange Free State. Our cruelties are impersonal." (Bernard Shaw once wrote: "The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them; that's the essence of inhumanity.") That anecdote is more meaningful than the statistic that a blind man in South Africa gets $72 a month if he is white, $37 if he is black. I would have preferred to read about a specific blind African or a specific black servant who earns $200 a year. After all, once you understand the irrationality of apartheid in theory it is easy to predict in practice. Bureaucracies everywhere generally behave with the same literalness, demonstrating an awesome ability to turn genocide into routine, even for the victims.

Some of the most significant issues in South Africa are tossed off in a sort of "once-over-lightly" treatment. There is, for example, a widely held belief that economic determinism of a sort will eventually weaken apartheid. Demand for skilled labor increases exponentially but not enough white workers are around to satisfy this expanding demand. Therefore, more and more non-whites are now, and will continue to be, incorporated into the skilled labor force and the job reservation laws will be breached forever. This view is discussed in three pages although the possibility and effect of its implementation is one of the most important debates in South Africa. The government, particularly its ultra-right wing (such is human nature that apartheid has a John Birch wing which mistrusts Vorster!), is quite aware that the consequences of growing national prosperity may necessitate an *intensification* of apartheid to prevent its breakdown.

I am not suggesting anything deliberate in Kahn's failure to discuss within some analytic framework the relationship of South Africa's economy to the future of apartheid. It is simply that, as it comes out in his book, the economy is on a level with an interesting statistic about the 38 hotel-rooms in Johannesburg for Africans (only six with baths). I know at first hand the difficulties Kahn must have encountered in researching his story and, even more, the difficulties of getting to know Africans in a country where Special Branch police (and an army of African informers) are everywhere. Yet without the words of Africans, a book about South Africa is half a story. Each day apartheid grows less and less a problem for the white conscience in South Africa, thanks to the unconcern in most of the world, particularly the United States. The United Nations is toothless in this matter as well as in Southwest Africa or

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Rhodesia. It gets easier and easier to forget about apartheid even if you are opposed to the Nationalist Party. A South African liberal I know once said to me: "Why don't they do something? Why do they expect us to do it all the time for them?"

The speaker was referring to the passivity of the Africans. And he was quite right, the Africans are apathetic and as it is said in Johannesburg, "If they won't die fighting apartheid and nobody else in Africa is ready to do so, why should we?" But what is being forgotten is something Alan Paton once told me when I saw him in his cottage in Kloof, a little town hear Durban. "We white people inflicted such wounds on the black people," he said, "that it will take generations for the wounds to disappear."

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 645)

lack of scriptural support. This is an ironic turn. It seems that at the root of Vatican II there was a conscious and positive return to scripture. How can it be ignored unless there is no scriptural support?

Unfortunately, the illogical presentation of this matter and its apparent lack of substantive support raises the question of why the Church and this Pope insist on clinging to an absurdity. It is a shame to think about the possibility, but is the Pope's encyclical a political tool to placate elements within the Church who have become so alarmed in recent years that they have forgotten Our Lord's promise of perpetual protection? Similar motives have influenced former papal decisions. DANIEL I. O'NEILL

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Funding Future Escalations

New York

To the Editors: Saul K. Padover ["The Power of the President," Aug. 9] points out quite correctly that "for the plunge into the Vietnam war . . . the decision emanated from the Executive and has been his responsibility ever since." Amazingly, he continues: "There is, moreover, no legal way to stop him."

This is not so. The Congress does have the legal power to deny funds for the continuation of the war. Such denial would force the Executive to stop or at least limit the war, while approval of funds carries with it an implicit approval of the Administration's war policy. Senator Gruening has expressed this clearly: "This was the device President Johnson had used in the past, obtaining approval from the Congress of his past and future actions through a request for the approval of additional funds for the war in Vietnam."

Congressmen, when taken to task for voting for war appropriations while deploring the war and its escalation, have used the excuse that we must back up our soldiers once they are in Vietnam. But the Administration's requests for funds are always for future escalation, not for past and present fighting. "The hearings brought out that the funds were not needed at that time but, as a prelude to the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam less than two weeks later . . ." (Gruening)

Representative W. F. Ryan of new York said in the floor debate of a supplemental appropriations bill on March 1, 1966, that it was "not a matter of support for men in combat but whether they should be in combat at all . . . This is a bill to finance escalation, not to finance an existing policy." The argument was stated most succinctly by Senator Wayne Morse: "The best way to support the troops is to deny the President the money to kill them."

FRANZ L. ALT

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Reading this book, one wonders who was really on trial: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn or the American Civil Liberties Union itself?

A salient feature of this timely book is the section compiled by Dr. Lamont (then a Board Member of ACLU and one of the participants at the trial) which presents the text of important exhibits and related documents, including ACLU's own 1939 pamphlet "Why We Defend Free Speech for Nazis, Fascists and Communists."

Beyond its historical importance, this book has special relevance today because the Civil Liberties Union has recently made mandatory new political tests for its officers and staff of the same general nature that led to the expulsion of Miss Flynn.

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